1: Junod M-5 (1895-1909)1927 Thonga

II. *The sexual and language taboos of the sungi.*

881 The whole sungi is taboo to every uninitiated person and
831 especially to women. A woman who has seen the " shondlo ",
834 viz. the leaves which the circumcised put over their wound,
784 and which form their only clothing, must be killed. But taboos abound for everybody. The sexual taboos are most noteworthy. Sexual intercourse is strictly prohibited to all inmates, men as well as shepherds ; breaking this law would kill the circumcised. Therefore the men must not go home, or at least as seldom as possible, during these three months. Married people in the village may have sexual relations ; but there must be no noise, no quarrels between jealous co-wives ; because, if they insult each other and if this is known in the sungi, the shepherds will come one evening and plunder that village. Strange to say, in the meantime obscene language is permitted and even recommended— a contrast which we shall often meet with during the marginal periods. Some of the formulae contain expressions which are taboo at other times ; when the women bring the food to the sungi, the shepherds who receive it from their hands are allowed to address them with as many unchaste words as they like. The mothers themselves have the right of singing obscene songs when they pound the mealies for the sungi.

192 As regards language, there are also special expressions used
881 during the school which are either archaic or foreign ; for instance, all orders are given in a tongue which is neither Thonga nor Sutho: Tshai goma, Go to the table ; Thari, Eat ; Khedi, Smear with white clay, etc. Often actions are not designated by the ordinary word, but by unusual terms. For instance, the daily smearing of the bodies with clay is called : " to eat sheep's fat. " To put on the leaves of the shondlo is " to eat sheep's flesh. " To be beaten with the mbuti sticks is " to drink goat's milk. " Evidently the aim of this terminology is to increase the impression of mystery which the rites must convey to the uninitiated.

866 As regards the rites of the marginal period, they are calculated
881 to give the candidates the impression that they are new men,

192 881 These formulae are so characteristic that they provide the principal pass words by which the circumcised recognize each other. Should I want to know if a man is initiated, I should say to him: "*Mashindla bya ndjako*, the beast which must be opened from behind." If he answers at once: "Ngwenya, the

Phot. A. Bacot

Cutting open a crocodile near the Nkomati river.

crocodile," I know that he has been circumcised. But he must add the following words: "khekeretana wa mufagu" i. e. "the knife which circumcises."

831 881 There are also some obscene formulae which refer to certain diseases of women, of which not a word is told outside the Ngoma. Some others are so ugly that I can give them only in Latin (Annotatio quarta). Even the formulae of the crocodile

1 [See p. 516 in these categories or in ... -- analyst]

b The bakoñwana.

606 First of all, *the wife's father*. There is a great respect in the heart of his son-in-law towards him, even a certain amount of fear, because, should a quarrel arise between a man and his wife, the father-in-law will preside over the painful discussions which will take place, he being the natural protector of his daughter. However, in normal cases, the two men live on good terms with each other, and very soon the son-in-law calls his father-in-law tatana, father ; of course the word tatana is not used here in its technical sense, but only by extension.

607 192 Secondly the bakoñwana are *the wife's brothers*. When their father dies, they take his place as protectors of their sister. Hence the uneasiness and fear with regard to them, which is, however, less marked in their case. The wife's brothers will never be called bamakweru (as they will never be ba-kweru, those of my house) but they are frequently designated by the term *soar*, or *sibar*, which is merely a corruption of the Dutch word zwager. This curious adoption of a foreign term is modern ; it is spreading more and more amongst the Zulus, Xosas and Suthos of Basutoland. Amongst the Thongas I only once heard the word soar used. The tendency to assimilate that kind of relationship to the European conception is a proof that the old fear of brothers-in-law is disappearing in the new generation.

606 But it is in the relation with two women of the wife's family that the respect of bukoñwana is pushed to the greatest extent : the wife's mother and the wife of the brother-in-law. In these cases there is not only respect but *avoidance*

The wife's mother.

606 576 Let us listen to Viguet telling the story of a man meeting his mother-in-law in the bush. "If one of the two sees the other coming a long way off, soon enough to escape without being noticed, he will speedily hide himself and reach his destination by making a long circuit, half a mile if necessary. But if they have come too near to have recourse to flight, this is what will happen. You leave the road ; you enter the bush on your right

643 609 645 671 be secret, or on the square, if there is no objection to making it public. The chief and his men sit on one side, the visitor on the other; if he wishes to conform strictly to all the laws of etiquette, he will first explain the matter to his own Agent General, who will communicate with the chief's special counsellor, repeating the words of the visitor, sentence by sentence; the counsellor will, in his turn, communicate with the chief, again telling him the whole story, as if he had not heard a word of it before. The affair will thus have passed through three hands and the answer should, in due formality, be given through the same channels. These precautions, which seem eminently superfluous, even somewhat ridiculous, to a person unacquainted with Bantu etiquette, evidently proceed from the fact that there are no stenographers or secretaries to furnish any written record of the proceedings, so that it is necessary to have as many witnesses as possible and that these should thoroughly understand the matter under consideration.

II. *Judicial Cases.*

1) Sense of justice.

671 183 641 609 554 As has often been remarked, the Bantus possess a strong sense of justice. They believe in social order and in the observance of the laws and, though these laws are not written, they are universal and perfectly well known. The law is the custom, that which has always been done. The old men, the counsellors and more particularly the counsellors of the capital, are those who can speak authoritatively. But everybody is welcome in the *hubo*, where matters are discussed; even a stranger can take part in the discussion. "No one is excluded, if he speaks rightly; only fools, those who do not know anything" (Mankhelu).

671 644 192 This participation in the discussions of the hubo has developed the sense of law to a wonderful extent amongst the Bantus. They are all born advocates and judges, and take a great interest in this business! No wonder therefore that the Thonga vocabulary

1: Junod M-5 (1895-1909)1927 Thonga

671 possesses a rich store of *judicial expressions*. Here are the most common : *Nau* (pl. milau) means law, custom. *Ku tlula nau*, to jump over the law, means transgression. *Nandju* (pl. *milandju*) means the fault resulting from transgression. This interesting word comes from *ku landja*, to follow. It applies in the first instance to cases which lead to a prosecution, but secondly to any fault. *Ku doha*, is to be wrong and *ku dohela mhunu*, the applicative derivative, to wrong another. *Ku da*, to eat somebody, or *dela*, is also a picturesque expression employed for injury to property. *Ku ramba* (Dj.), *ku rjambela hosin* (Ro.) is the technical expression to designate a complaint lodged before the chief. *Ku riha* (Dj.), *djiha* (Ro.) means to pay a fine, and *rihisa*, *djihisa* (the factitive derivative), to impose a fine.

672 426 614 This strong sense of justice however differs from the European on certain points. Owing to their collectivist notions, the Bantus consider relatives as responsible for the debts of their own kin, as we have already seen (p. 332). Another case in which they entertain ideas which seem very strange to us is this ; when anyone has lent you an implement and you make a bad use of it, the fault is as much the lender's as the borrower's. I remember a queer case which took place in my school in Rikatla. Some boys had to go in the afternoon to work in the vegetable garden under the supervision of their overseer. On the way one of them happened to hurt his foot by treading on a thorn. So, when he arrived in the garden, he borrowed a knife from the overseer and began to make sandals of palm-leaf pith. The elder boy entreated him to work. He refused to obey, so the overseer denounced him publicly, when the weekly inquiry into the conduct of the boys was made, on the following Friday. But the temporary shoemaker did not admit to being guilty of anything at all, and his final argument was this : "I cannot understand how Mr. Overseer can accuse me when he himself lent me the knife which I used to carve my sandals!" D. Kidd tells similar stories about Pondos in his "Essential Kafir."

671 So there are differences between Native and European conceptions of justice, and Bantus do not always draw the same conclusions as we do from given premises. Native Commissioners

726 warriors, as also those of Nwamba, had received orders from the
173 Whites, at the end of January 1895, to attack Zihlahla and Mahazule.
703 One of the young men of Matjolo, who was present during the operations, told me this story : "We were to have joined the men of Nwamba at a village called Mukapan, but did not find them at the rendez-vous. As they had made common cause with Zihlahla at the beginning of the revolt, we had not much confidence in them. It looked as if they were in hiding and intended to attack us treacherously and kill us. At this time two panics occured. The first was at Hukwen, when a man dreamt that he was being killed, and cried out : "Yo! Uwe! There are people who are killing me!" It was pitch dark. Every one jumped to his feet. Some ran to hide in the forest, but others shouted : "The enemy are here!" Fighting began in the regiment of Geba, (composed of men of the same age as Sigaole, the chief), but no one was killed. A few individuals who kept their presence of mind restored order, but we came very near exterminating each other! The next night a Chopi of our troop had a fright, and cried out : "Why do you want to kill me, you men of Matjolo ? I will tell Sigaole's mother." He was promptly secured and forced to keep quiet for fear that he would rouse the Nondwane people, etc. A similar panic seized the troops of Mahazule, when they went to lay waste the country round Lourenço Marques (October 1894).

726 To avoid these panics, as far as possible, the Ba-Ronga arrange a
192 *password* before starting on an expedition. I was able to learn two of these countersigns, after the war, by questioning some young men who had taken part in certain military operations. On one occasion the pass-word was as follows : "Be ge pi ?" These are Zulu words signifying : "What are you looking at ?" The requisite answer being : "Be ge pezulu"—"We are looking at the sky." In the famous attack made by the Zihlahla warriors on the town of Lourenço Marques, on 14th October 1894, the word was : "U landu bane ?"—"With whom have you a quarrel ?"—and the reply : "Ngi landa Mlungu!"—"I have a quarrel with the white man!"

727 *Return from the battle.* When a yimpi has been defeated in
765 battle, but is not pursued by the enemy, it returns silently and disperses before reaching the capital, each warrior going back ashamed to his village. Mourning takes place in the villages of the deceased. But much lamenting is not allowed. It may be that the chief will prohibit any mourning if many have been

263 small amount of salt it contains! This is a long process attended
317 with very unsatisfactorily results. During the Anglo-Boer war,
258 Natives round Leydsdorp reverted to it as all the stores were closed and no salt was procurable.

Salt manufacture, Northern Transvaal. *Phot. P. Rosset.*

Nowadays Native manufacture of salt has entirely ceased. The beautiful glistening white article has advantageously replaced the greyish, blackish mixture of former times.

II. *Food.*

252 It is not an exaggeration to speak of a culinary art amongst
581 the Thongas. They give great attention to cooking. Of a woman who knows how to cook well, it is said: "Awa hisa" "she burns;" not that she lets the sauce burn, but this expression corresponds to the French "cordon bleu." A girl who "hisa" will have more chance of being "lobola" than another.

252 This importance given to cooking explains the great richness of
192 the culinary vocabulary. Every variety of dish or of culinary process has its particular name, and to master all these terms

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a special apprenticeship ought to be served to one of the queens of the kitchen. I cannot boast of having gone as far as that!

As a rule women cook only once a day, towards the end of the afternoon. The big meal is eaten in the evening when everybody is expected to eat till satisfied (shura), and what remains of it is generally finished the next day in the morning (fihlula). This evening meal consists of two component parts: the cooked cereals, and the sauces seasoning them. But the menu can be greatly varied. In most cases the cereals are prepared as *bupsa* (flour), or *mapa*, and the sauce, *muru* (Ro.), *sheshebo* (Dj.), is made of monkey nuts, ground and boiled in water, vegetables, India-pepper, tomatoes, shrimps, etc. Or the cereals, maize, millet or sorghum, may be only husked (tlhokola) and cooked whole; they are then called *tihobe* (plur. of hobe, the central part of the grain), and the monkey nut sauce is often replaced by beans or peas cooked together with the tihobe. All these dishes are very tasty and many White people readily eat the Thonga food, which seems to me superior to the Sutho.

However, I never very much appreciated the *bupsa* which the Thongas consider superior to the tihobe and which takes a longer time to prepare. The grains must first be soaked for several hours in water (lobeka) to soften them; they are then crushed, the husks being carefully removed by the winnowing process (hehera) in the *lihlelo* basket, which is spasmodically shaken by sudden jerky movements; the interior of the grain is then pounded until it forms a very fine flour, as light as the best Australian flour; the small round particles remaining are called *buse*, and eaten as tihobe, as the bupsa must be perfectly homogeneous. When it boils in the pot, the cook stirs it the whole time with a stick provided at the bottom with small cross bars, two to three inches in length; she twirls the stick with her hands in the same way as a man lighting a fire with the wooden flint, and this operation prevents the flour from forming lumps. The lobeka process gives a somewhat nauseating taste to the bupsa; that is why Europeans do not care for it, but Natives like it precisely for that reason. The preparation of *tihobe* is not so complicated, as no preliminary softening is necessary. It is a somewhat coarse food which,

is not unknown to the Bantus though they may not have clearly thought out all its rules. It is true that logical reasoning is often interfered with amongst these primitive peoples by the mystic associations which Mr. Lévy-Brühl describes in his books on *Les Fonctions Mentales dans les Sociétés Inférieures* and *La Mentalité Primitive*, interfered with also by emotional factors or by the intervention of the will ; this unfortunately happens in non-primitive races also. But as regards the mechanism of reasoning, I do not think there is any great difference between the Bantu mind and the mind of more civilized peoples. 193

At any rate the power of co-ordination disclosed in the Bantu languages is extremely large and gives these languages a remarkable clearness. Its main feature is this : the prefix of the noun is used to form all the adjectives and pronouns connected with it, as will be clearly seen from the following sentence :

*Tj*ndlopfu	le*tt*nyingi	*ta*	tiko	*ti*	khalutile :	hi *tone*
The elephants	numerous	of	the land	they	have passed :	It is they,

hi *toleti*,	le'*ti*	bonekaka	mutjwen	wa	*tone*.
it is these	which	are visible	in the forest	of	them.

This is what grammarians have called the Euphonic Concord. It is certainly *euphonic*, bringing about frequent alliterations which are pleasing to the ear, and at any rate prevent misunderstanding, as they help us to realise, at once, to which noun the pronouns and adjectives refer.

D. ADVERBS AND THE POWER OF DESCRIPTION.

The Adverbs of place, manner, time, etc., form a very interesting study ; they show the presence of remnants of the three locative classes, *pa*, *mu* and *ku*, which still flourish in Central African languages, and have become obsolete in those of South Africa (*h*andle, outside ; *h*ansi, on the ground ; *h*ase, on the other border ; *mu*ndjuku, to morrow ; *k*aya, at home ; etc.) and this seems to 192

192 prove that our dialects represent a further development of the old Bantu languages. But I am here considering especially what I have called the *Descriptive Adverbs*, a category of very curious words which have not been sufficiently noticed and which show a wonderful power of description in the Thonga mind.

These words, hundreds of which are employed by the Natives, consist of monosyllables or polysyllables, often repeated twice or thrice, and generally following the verb *ku*. This verb *ku*, which is also one of the curious features of Thonga grammar, a very primitive verb (1), designates any manifestation of self, either in action, speech, or thought, and can be translated accordingly by to do, to say, or to think. Now, for the wonderfully acute senses of the sons of the bush, everything — man, beasts, objects of Nature — speaks and thinks, and these adverbs attempt to express in picturesque words these actions, this language of things, sounds as well as movements, attitudes, feelings, etc.

Let us begin by the *sound*. The Hare, in one of the Thonga tales, is represented as sleeping, when it suddenly awakens on hearing a sala, the fruit of the nsala tree (p. 16), fall from the branch and *say* : katla-katla, katla-katla, be! Katla-katla evidently translates the noise made by the hard shell of the fruit knocking against the branches on its way down until it reaches the ground and abruptly ends its journey, the termination of which is rendered by the short monosyllable *be*!.. The Hare, frightened by the noise, runs away and arouses all the beasts of the bush, one after the other, saying : "I have heard a noise of *katla-katla, katla-katla, be*" or, — here he changes the word, probably to avoid a tiresome repetition : "*ngaya-ngaya, ngaya-ngaya, be*!" This may be called an *onomatopoeia* and is met with in a great many languages. A certain number of the adverbs descriptive of sound are universally known and used. Birds say : *pse*! *tswi*! *tsiri*! The wind says : *wotshyu-wotshyu*... A man says *go-go-go*, he knocks at the door ; *mpfaaa*, he tears a cloth ; *pfotlo*, he breaks a stick, etc. There are hundreds of these in Thonga, and any one with enough

(1) It may be that *ku* is an abbreviated or simplified form of *ku ri* which corresponds to the Kafir *ukuti*. At any rate *ku* is employed as the past narrative tense of the verb ku *ri*.

imagination can further invent new ones ; I remember hearing a Native describe a waggon rolling along a stony road : you could recognise the sound of the wheels, of the chain, of the frame, grinding, rattling, creaking! 192

Sometimes the descriptive adverb is very different from the sound it is intended to imitate : thus, when the dog is said to *say* : *ndo-ndo-ndo*, the mouse : *tlulu-tlulu*, the duyker : *rurururu*, the hare : *tlwa-tlwa-tlwa*, the character of the movement, or of the gait, is described as well as the sound. We find indeed that a considerable number of these adverbs are *descriptive of movements*, viz., of phenomena perceived by the eyes, and not by the ear. They translate the impression made on the brain by objects, motions *seen* and not heard, *phenomena of vision*.

Movements of all kinds, of animate or inanimate beings, are vividly reproduced by the descriptive adverbs. Movements of the whole body : a man says *gaa*, he falls on his back ; *dlomu, nyupe*, he plunges into the water ; *retemuku*, he slips ; *ngiri-ngiri-ngiri*, he walks down ; *khaga*, he climbs ; *bvumbuluku*, he rises briskly. Movements of one limb : *ume*, he lifts an arm to threaten ; *ntshuki*, he shakes his head to deny ; *kutje*, he nods in assent ; *tjope-tjope*, his eyes twinkle. Movements which entail definite actions : *ntswi, mpsi*, he ties ; *nkwaa*, he opens a door ; *petlu*, he breaks something ; *dli*, he pierces ; *bvonyu*, he spoils ; etc., etc.

The various *kinds of gait* can also be described in this primitive way : *ntu-ntu-ntu*, the elephant, a bulky thing, advancing slowly ; *kwanyi-kwanyi*, the lion walking heavily ; *pha-pha-pha*, the jerky flight of the butterfly ; *kwe-kwe*, a man walking with difficulty : *tsere-tsere*, walking deliberately ; *kwiti*, limping ; *gutsele-gutsele*, a lame man ; *nyantsa-nyantsa*, spying out. The frog jumping on the ground, and later on into the water says : *nwe... nwe...nwe.... djiama*! (this last word describing the plunge into the water). A man running slowly says *wahle* ; with small steps : *nyakwi-nyakwi* ; with rapidity : *phene-mene-mene*, or *nyu-nyu*, or *kwaru-kwaru* ; sprinting, *nana-nana*, or *nwana-nwana*.

The various *attitudes* are expressed by words, sometimes in a very amusing way : a man says *phavava*, or *nhabalala*, or *baratjatja*, he lies on his belly ; he says *wololoko*, he stands erect ;

192 *khempfa*, he sits down very tired ; *yinti*, he stands listening attentively, etc.

The *facial expressions* are minutely described by a great wealth of such words : a man says : *langu*, he looks at something ; *lori*, with attention ; *dloto*, intently, and for a long time ; *pari*, with anger ; *dlanya*, with kindness.

Let us take another step forward and we shall find another category describing the *state of mind*, the feelings of the heart, which are also phenomena of vision in as far as they correspond to given attitudes of the body or to certain expressions of the features. A man says *gee*, he is happy ; *kono*, he fears ; *nkwi-nkwisi*, he is in a bad humour ; *doko-doko*, he covets ; *punavuna*, he has pity.

By means of such adverbs *phenomena of Nature* and even *abstract ideas* can be described. Heaven says, *mphu*, it becomes dark ; *dzunu*, the day breaks ; the smoke says *tobi-tobi*, it ascends to heaven ; the water, or the rays of the sun, say *lululu*, they begin to feel warm ; the fire says *lasi-lasi*, it is seen flickering far away.

Abstract ideas. Men say *bi* or *kutlu*, they are all killed, to the last one (total destruction) ; somebody says *kwemetelo*, he does not attain his end, etc.

[124] The list of descriptive adverbs which I have collected comprises more than 250 of them. Most of these were obtained in the following way. When teaching my pupils the Bukhaneli, viz., the Grammar of their own language — which I always found a very interesting and useful subject of study for them — I asked each of them to write down at once 50 of these strange words. Without hesitation they complied with my demand, one of them writing as many as 70. Almost all of them were different. This shows the extreme wealth of the language in this respect. It is no exaggeration to say that, in Thonga, there are ten, perhaps twenty times as many descriptive adverbs as those quoted by my pupils. In dealing with the characteristics of the Thonga or Bantu mind, I think they are worthy of close consideration. These thousands of words, instinctively formed to express the impression made on the brain by any kind of phenomena, prove the existence of a wonderful power of description. The Bantu

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151 192 mind is extraordinarily sensitive to any shock from without, and it finds a way of expressing this sensitiveness by picturesque words which give an extraordinary interest and colour to speech. Bantus are far superior to us in this respect, and that is why so few Europeans can really learn to use these descriptive adverbs properly (not to mention those who look upon them with contempt!) And this is one of the signs of what I do not hesitate to call the literary sense of the Bantu mind!

In the first edition I asked the question: Are these descriptive adverbs confined to the Thongas or are they to be found in other Bantu languages? The knowledge which I possessed in 1910 gave me reason to suppose that they were indeed to be met with in at least a great number of these. Torrend in his *Comparative Grammar* quotes some of them from Kafir and Senna and refers to a whole list compiled by the Rev. A. Hetherwick in his *Yao Grammar* and by Rebmann in the *Kinyassa Dictionary*. Torrend calls them onomatopoetic substantives. Colenso gives a good many of them in his *Zulu-English Dictionary*. Grout only briefly mentions five of them in his Chapter on Zulu interjections. Endemann, in the first edition of his *Sotho Grammatik* recognizes their existence (p. 170) and classes them also as interjections, but adds: "Most of the interjections of this kind do not belong to the written language." Since then the Rev. R. Godfrey has published the second edition of the Kropf *Kafir-English* Dictionary (1915) and in his remarkable Introduction has shown the immense part these expressions play in Kafir. He calls them Primary or Strong Stems. Prof. Westerman in his *Grammatik der Ewesprache* has also shown their importance in the languages of the tribes of Western Africa. It may thus be asserted that this linguistic phenomenon is met with all through primitive Africa and the conclusions which I draw from the presence of these descriptive adverbs with regard to Thonga mentality equally apply to all Africans.

As regards the name given to them, I would object to the term *interjection*. While some of them can be used as such, i. e. "thrown amongst" other words without syntactic connection, they generally follow the verb *ku ku* (or *li* or *ti*) just as "yes" or "no" follow the verb to say. So they are rather adverbs than interjections. Nor can I approve of the term employed by Torrend: *onomatopoetic substantives*. Substantives they certainly are not, as they pertain to none of the eight classes and have nothing of the nature of nouns. On the other hand, only a

192 certain number of them are real onomatopoeiae, i. e. words resembling the sound made by the thing of which they are the names. The term adopted by the Rev. R. Godfrey, Primary or Strong Stems, has been severely criticised by the Rev. W. Bourquin (see Christian Express, August and September 1916) and it would seem that this expression Primary must at any rate not be taken to mean that these words necessarily belong to the oldest elements of the language. A considerable proportion of the Kafir descriptive adverbs (60-70 %) bear the trace of a Hottentot or Bushman origin. It would however be an error to conclude from this fact that these words, amongst the Bantus, have been borrowed from the non-Bantu races. They abound in Thonga and Thonga has not been in any way influenced by the Bushmen and the Hottentots. But there is still another fact which proves that the descriptive adverbs have not been inherited from the *Ur-Bantu* ; as far as I am able to judge, the Kafir descriptive adverbs are totally different from those of the Thongas (1). There ought on the other hand to be many common to both languages (which have a great number of common roots as regards nouns, adjectives and verbs) if the present descriptive adverbs had really been used in the mother tongue. For all these reasons the term Descriptive Adverbs seems to me the best and should professional grammarians not wish to adopt it, I would suggest that they should be considered as words having no true equivalents in our more polished European languages and therefore as forming a new category, a new species to be added to the classical eight parts of speech! After all, language is not made for Grammar, but Grammar for language ! And we Europeans cannot claim to have found all the forms of expression of which the human mind is capable. If the Bantus have discovered another class of words which render them great service, why should we proclaim them as unworthy of consideration and exclude them from the written language?

193 For linguists, I add a few particulars concerning the grammatical nature of these words and the importance they may have had in the evolution of human speech. The intonation, the gesture, accompanying these adverbs of course greatly assist in understanding their meaning. Sometimes the word is *short*, ends sharply, as *gi*, a blow on a pole to drive it into the earth ; or it is *prolonged* as *ra-a-a*, the unrolling of a

(1) It is not possible to pronounce a definite judgment on this question as the lists of Kafir and Thonga descriptive adverbs which we possess are far from being complete. Full lists of these interesting particles in all the languages ought to be compiled by Bantu grammarians as soon as possible for purposes of comparison.

mat which drags along the ground ; or *repeated* many times, when the action consists in a series of repeated motions : *ngiri-ngiri-ngiri*, walking down to the spruit. From the etymological point of view, some adverbs may be termed *primitive* and others *derivative*. Amongst the primitive are, for instance, *dzi*, the act of planting (hence the verb ku dzima), *nyupe*, the act of plunging (hence ku nyupela), etc. But others are distinctly derivative, for instance : *humelelo*, the impression caused by somebody who suddenly appears. This is certainly derived from the verb ku humelela, which is itself the double applicative derivative of ku huma, to come out ; ku humelela means, according to the law of verbal derivation, to be produced, to happen, to arrive, to appear. Hence the descriptive adverb. Other instances of such derivations are : *retzmuku*, *rendjeleku*, *tlheriso*, *woloko*, *khabutelo*. They are generally long words (though all the long ones are by no means derivatives). A regular means of derivation even seems to consist in the addition of the suffix *iyani* to the infinitive of the verb ; so a man "says" *yetleliyani*, he sleeps, (from ku yetlela, to sleep) ; *yimisiyani*, he stands erect (from ku yima, to stand). It would seem as if people had found so much pleasure in expressing their ideas by this picturesque method that they even convert regular verbs into descriptive adverbs ! 193

I must further mention that some of these adverbs, placed between the verb *ku* and the adverb, as shown in the following examples, have a true transitive nature and may be preceded by a direct object, especially those which express actions. Ex.: A ku *shi* wuyuwuyu, he throws *that* away ; a ku *mu* mpsi, he makes *him* mpsi, he binds him ; even the verbal reflective prefix *ti* (which is a kind of invariable pronoun) can be used in this connexion. Ex.: A ku *ti* mpsi, he ties himself. Some are at the same time transitive and intransitive, according to the sense. Ex.: A ku *kwe-kwe*, he drags his leg ; (a way of walking) ; a ku yi kwe, he drags it (the pole) ; (a transitive action).

In Kafir these particles are capable of modifying their meaning considerably owing to the fact that the auxiliary *ukuti* to which they are appended can adopt the derivative verbal forms called by Godfrey the reciprocal, the relative, the stative and the reflexive. This is not possible with the Thonga auxiliary ku ; I have only met with the reflexive ti, and this was not prefixed to the auxiliary as in Kafir but to the adverb itself.

In Kafir as in Thonga many of these words give rise to regular verbs. This fact, which is one more proof of their importance and is highly interesting, would alone substantiate my contention that they should be 192

192 carefully studied. They correspond to a phase of human development when language is still living and creating new expressions, enriching itself by means of vocables invented on all sides. Let me remind the reader of what I said in Vol. I, Appendix II about *nxoko*. This expression was invented by an old Thonga of Rikatla, a blind man of 70 or 80, who expressed by this exclamation his satisfaction at finding himself in good company. The word seemed so much to the point that it became famous. The inventor was surnamed Nxoko and created the verb ku *nxoka*, to be happy, even to *nxokela*, the relative derivative, to be happy in a certain place. Certainly such linguistic phenomena can do much to explain the origin of language. Even lofty spiritual terms have been derived from these exclamations, springing from the childish mind of the Natives. So *phati-phati*, the shining of a fat ox, has given rise to *ku phatima* and *kwetsi-kwetsi*, the brilliancy of a bottle, to *ku kwetsima*, both verbs which were chosen as best expressing the idea of sanctity or purity (in its positive sense). Did not Max Muller conjecture that the root of *Deus*, a word which has played such a great part in the evolution of mankind, originally came from the exclamation *Devar* to which our Aryan forefathers gave vent when contemplating the sky? Devar was probably nothing but a descriptive adverb.

It is to be feared that books and book language will destroy this most interesting mode of speech, so much used by those Natives who are true Bantus, and the genius of the race will certainly suffer from this loss. Let Europeans, in this as in so many other domains, try to *understand* the Native in order not to spoil him !

E. THE NUMERALS, AND THE WANT OF AN ARITHMETICAL SENSE.

802 Compared to the thousands of descriptive adverbs, Numerals make a poor show indeed in the Thonga Grammar! The Thongas possess only seven : *ñwe*, one ; *biri*, two ; *raru*, three ; which are declined like adjectives ; *mune*, four ; *ntlhanu*, five, *khume*, ten ; *dzana*, a hundred, which are nouns. With these seven words they must express all numbers. The process is very complicated indeed. Nine hundred and eighty seven will have to be rendered as follows : five hundred, and four hundred,

often fail to understand them. This literary device is often apparent in their riddles, or proverbs. 195 537

The literary gifts of the Natives, finally, manifest themselves in the very interesting and rich folklore which will form the subject of our second chapter.

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Is it possible after this rapid study of the Thonga language to fix with greater accuracy the place which the Bantu languages occupy in the historic development of human speech? Languages which are regarded as the most primitive are characterised by a linguistic phenomenon which is called holophrase, viz. a single word means not only a single action, but an action accomplished under a number of peculiar circumstances. Mr. Marett in his excellent little book entitled *Anthropology* (p. 140) quotes some very curious examples of holophrase borrowed from the American languages, especially from the Fuegian. A single expression is said to mean : "to look at each other hoping that either will offer to do something which both parties are unwilling to do." I have found in Thonga only one instance in which traces of the holophrase system might be found, and this is by no means so wonderful. The demonstrative adjectives are met with in three forms, which indicate not only the object referred to, but its place as regards distance and in relation to the person speaking. Tihomu *leti*, means these oxen, near at hand, near me ; tihomu *leto*, these oxen, somewhat further off, near you, my interlocutor ; tihomu *letiya*, those oxen, far away and near a third person. The more the final a is prolonged, the further off are the oxen. Moreover these demonstrative adjectives indicate not only the situation of the oxen in space but also in time ; *leti* are the oxen of to-day, *leto* those of a near past and *letiya* those of which we were speaking a long time ago. But this is an isolated case. In Thonga ideas are differenciated almost as completely as in our Indo-European languages. The language has evolved from the holophrastic to the analytic. My conclusion is therefore that the Bantu languages, though they belong to the agglutinate variety, have reached a high degree of development ; they reveal the existence of intellectual powers not essentially different from those of civilized races. They certainly constitute the greatest achievement of Bantu mental activity and the most precious treasure inherited by the Bantus of to-day from their forefathers. 192

192 Amongst the Ba-Ronga those[1] which are still known are : *Nhlangula*, 805 the month in which the flowers are swept (hlangula) from the trees. probably October, when all the minkuhlu, minkanye, etc., 821 blossom ; *Ñwendjamhala*, the month in which the antelope mhala. brings forth its young (November?) ; *Mawuwana*, when the *tihuhlu* (p. 18) are plucked, because the people shout : "Wuwana! wuwana!" in their joy at having plenty of almonds to suck, corresponds to December. *Hukuri* is said to be the month when the fruits of the *nkwakwa* (p. 17) are ripe (December also?). *Ndjati*, or *ndjata*, viz., I am coming, is the time of *nwebo*, when everyone is in his fields eating the new cobs of mealies, and if you call a person he will answer : "I will come directly! Have patience! I am busy here!" "This may be January or February. *Sunguti* is also one of the summer months. *Sibamesoko*, the moon which closes the paths, also called *Dwebindlela* or *Sibandlela*, is easy to identify : it is February, the time when the grass grows so high that it hides the paths leading to the nkanye trees. This is the end of the bukanye time (I. p. 397). *Nyenyana*, *Nywenywankulu* are the months of the birds (nyanyana), when one spends all one's time in chasing the winged marauders from the fields of sorghum and millet (March. April). *Mudashini*, viz., what am I to eat? is the month when you have harvested so many different kinds of food that you do not know which to choose : this is the time directly after harvest, May or June. *Khotabushika*, viz., when winter comes, probably June or July.

772 The *stars* are called *tinyeleti* (yin-tin) and play a remarkably 821 small part in the ideas of the tribe. The modern theory according to which all religions started from the worship of stars, finds no confirmation at all in the South African Bantu tribes.

821 It is taboo to try to count the stars. If any one attempts 784 to do so people will say to him : "Keep quiet or you will wet the 861 hut during the night!" Counting stars represents the torments of the soul! If a child has been deprived of food as a punishment for an offence, his parents will tell him, when he goes to sleep : "Go and count the stars," viz., "you will feel hungry and not be able to go to sleep ; you will be as unhappy as if you had to count the stars."

[1] [names of moons -- Analyst]

825 Monkeys are thought to be degenerate human beings, who have lost the habit of working and tilling fields, and thus fallen into their present miserable condition.

815 The collection of Native names of animals which I have compiled is interesting ; first from the linguistic point of view, for purposes 192 of comparison. Bantu philology needs such lists of words on which to base its conclusions. Let me point out that there seems to be a great uniformity in the various South African dialects as regards the names of large animals, the root being the same although the names have been differentiated by the regular phonetic permutations (1) ; names of trees, on the contrary, vary very much, even from one Thonga clan to the other. But these names also interest us as throwing some light on the Bantu conceptions of Nature. The notion of *genus* is not so marked as amongst plants. It is not, however, absent. The different kinds of ducks are called *sekwa*, sekwa-nyari, sekwa-mhala, the word sekwa being a true genus name. The notion of *order* may even be discovered in the classification of mammalia made by Mankhelu when he said : "Women eat only the flesh of animals having *hoofs*, and not that of animals having *paws*" (p. 83).

193 It is curious to inquire to which of the grammatical classes these names belong. Most of them are of the *yin-tin* class, the animal class proper. Torrend makes a connection between the prefix *tin* and the stem *psala*, to beget, to bring forth, and this may be correct. But many are of the *dji-ma* class, which often contains objects forming groups ; animals roaming in companies, as well as the regiments of the army (mabotshu, mabandla, I. p. 456), frequently belong to this class. (Sekwa, duck ; sowa, sparrow ; khoti, vulture ; hanshi, the horse of White people, of the cavalry, etc.). Some mammalia have the personal prefix *ba* for the plural. The mu-ba prefixes are always employed in tales when the animal is personified ; in the few cases here referred to, however, *ba* is used without any idea of personifying the animal ; the bat, the fox and a kind of red antelope (mangulwe) are designated in this way, and I

(1) Compare the names in my list with the Zulu and Nyandja names collected by Miss Werner in the *Revue d'Ethnographie et de Sociologie*. Jan. April 1911.

609 accepted as facts by the majority of his countrymen in Bilen. Is it not strange to notice that, whilst a great number of Europeans think of the Blacks as being all cannibals, these savages, on the other hand, believe exactly the same thing of us! Of course a closer contact with White people has already led them to a truer knowledge of what we really are, and they have discovered that, after all, there is not such a great difference between the various human races!

In former times the Thongas would seem to have believed that all White people, not only the Portuguese, dwelt in water. They were said to have eyes in front and behind and to see on all sides, so that it was impossible to escape from them. They used to kidnap Black people and take them away.

III. *The human body.*

1) Ideas of Anatomy.

815 826 The Thongas have never made an anatomic study of a human corpse. They have a riddle to this effect: "Ku pfura ndjilo mungema? — Ba lahla munhu wa ku fa." — "A fire of live coals? — They bury a dead man." As you never put your hand in the fire, so you would not touch a corpse. Nor have they ever made a post mortem examination! What they know of the human body is entirely derived from the inductions they have drawn from oxen, pigs and game which they cut open. Considering that the source of their knowledge is so indirect, one wonders that they have learnt so much of the human physical structure.

192 824 Having taught a little anatomy to the students of our Institute, I can bear testimony that they have names for most of the bones of the skeleton. *Pala* (dji-ma) means skull; *lihlaya* (li-ti), maxillary bone; *tinyo*, pl. menyo, teeth; *tshuri* (dji-ma), molar tooth (same word as mortar); *litlatla*, clavicle; *likhongotlo*, spine; *khatla* (dji-ma), shoulder blade; *shintjintji*, sternum; *shikangana*, extremity of the sternum; *libambo*, rib; (they believe there are *ten* ribs on each side!); *shikukwana*, humerus; *nkono* (mu-mi), cubitus;

ñwalihlanga, (mu-ba) femur ; *lihandja*, tibia ; they seem to know nothing of the radius and the peroneus ; *guywa-guywana*, rotula ; *nhlolo*, astragalus ; other bones are called by the name of the region, or the organ, to which they belong : the bone of the pelvis, *nyongwa* (yin-tin), the hip ; the wrist bones, *hlakala* ; those of the palm, *shipapa* ; those of the fingers, *litiho* ; those of the toes, *shikuñwana* ; those of the ankle, *shirendje* ; of the sole, *nkondjo* (mu-mi) ; the thumb is called *khudju* (dji-ma), and the big toe, *the great shikuñwana*. 192 826

The different organs are also known : *byongwe* (bu-ma) (Dj.) *bongwe* (Ro.) is the brain ; *tihlo*, pl. *mahlo*, the eye ; *ndlebe* (yin-tin), the ear ; *nhompfu* (yin-tin), the nose ; *nomo*, pl. *milomo*, the lips and the mouth ; *lidjimi*, the tongue ; *nkolo* (mu-mi), the throat ; they know that there are two pipes, one for food, the other for air, but they are not sure which is in front and which behind! *Hahu* (dji-ma), (Ro.), *phaphu* (Dj.), lungs ; *shidyelo*, the stomach ; *mbilu* (yin-tin), the heart ; *shibindji*, the liver ; *libengo*, the spleen ; *lipfalo*, the diaphragm ; *rumbu* (dji-ma), the bowels, including the male internal genitalia ; external genitalia of man and woman are taboo ; *yinso* (yin-tin) means kidneys ; *nhlonge* (yin-tin), skin ; *nwala* (mu-mi) nail *nsisi* (mu-mi), hair, etc.

But on pushing the inquiry somewhat further, we begin to notice a gross ignorance of important facts. The one word *nsiha* (mu-mi) means nerves, tendons, ligaments, veins and arteries ; *nyimba* is the uterus, but also means pregnancy. Natives seem to think that a new nyimba is created at each pregnancy. They know nothing of the glands and I never discovered a name for the pancreas. [843]

2) Physiological notions.

For this reason it is obvious that they cannot know what really happens in the body, and the marvellous and complicated system of our physical life. The mystery of the nervous system is entirely unknown, as is also the way in which blood (*ngati*, yin-tin) is formed from food, the digestive process, the circulation of the blood and the action of the air upon it, etc. We must not be 827

criminal magical practices by which wizards and witches bewitch innocent folk. Buloyi is a crime. White Magic is called *Bungoma*, and means the magical operations of those who combat evil influences and use their powers for the benefit, and not for the ruin, of their countrymen. The *mungoma* (magician) is consequently the great enemy of the *noyi* (caster of spells). It may be that the power of both is at bottom of the same nature. But the use they make of it is entirely opposed, the one exerting it in the interests of Society, the other against it. We shall therefore have to deal with these two categories of persons in two separate paragraphs.

I. *Black Magic (Buloyi).*

Buloyi, an abstract noun of the bu-ma class, as well as *noyi* (pl. *baloyi*), is derived from the verb *ku loya* (Ro.), *lowa* (Dj.), to bewitch. This word is very interesting. It seems to have been known already in the Ur-Bantu (Comp. Meinhof, *Grundriss*, p. 173) and exists in Swaheli, Herero, Xosa, Sutho, Thonga, etc. Strange to say, the stem is absent in Zulu, where it is replaced by *thakata*. In Thonga its most common meaning is to bewitch. But the word is also applied to the act of a man who marries his near cousin (I. p. 258). Moreover Nkolele, describing to me the sacrifice in the sacred wood, and speaking of the *ntukulu* who prepares to steal the offering, said : "Here is the *noyi*, ready to come and steal the beer..." I also heard the crocodile stone, used by the chief as a charm to protect his life, called *buloyi bya hosi*, the magical power of the chief (I. p. 393) ; these instances show that the word loya is sometimes, though rarely, used in a more general sense. Its technical meaning, however, is and remains : to injure or kill by enchantment. Who are these baloyi, and what crime do they perpetrate?

1) The Baloyi.

The *baloyi*, or people possessing the evil eye, are numerous in each tribe. Their power is hereditary, but, strange to say, it is transmitted by the mother and not by the father. Therefore

183 834 *shitshabo*, viz., fear, or respect (1). There is no danger in transgressing this law of decency, but to do so is condemned.

3) When a young man has transgressed the taboo of *matlulana* (I. p. 197), having had sexual relations with the same woman as another man, he is not allowed to attend the burial of his rival. It is a taboo. However, if the deceased is his own father, the culprit can be treated with drugs, and so fulfil his duty of grave-digger, being protected against the dangers of his condition : "The *yila* has been removed, but the *biha* remains." *Biha* means that which is bad.

183 577 So there are three domains, besides the yila, in which the Native is conscious of the restraints imposed upon him : law or custom, respect or decency, and duty or *fanelo*. To these might be added a fourth, the disgust for a certain food (p. 83). The great difference between the taboo and the other prohibitions is that the transgression of the latter is not necessarily attended with danger (2).

Let us consider more closely the idea of *fanelo*, or duty.

192 183 577 Fanelo comes from *ku fana*, to be alike ; fanela is what is seemly, becoming. This is not as yet a very high notion of morality. The moral sense, however, certainly exists and this is proved by three facts :

1) The richness of the vocabulary expressive of moral ideas. There are more words applicable to the negative side of the idea and signifying *bad*, than to the positive, signifying *good* ; a phenomenon which may be observed in most primitive languages, even in our French patois. *Ku biha* means to be bad, morally speaking, and to be ugly, esthetically speaking. The distinctiveness of the two domains exists, however, in the mind of the Native. He says : "behile mbilu" — "is bad in his heart," or "behile liso" — "is ugly as regards his face." *Shibi*, the derivative noun of the verb ku

(1) I have heard the mixed bathing of men and women also called a yila, but it is a special kind of yila, *the yila of tshabisa*, the taboo of respect or decency.

(2) I would not, however, insist too strongly on the distinctiveness of these five domains. Theft and murder are prohibited on account of *duty*, but they become taboo if the culprit is discovered, because they will bring punishment upon him. The moral wrong of these acts was perceived *before* their dangerous character, and we have here an instance of a taboo grafted on a moral, or social, prohibition.

biha, is regularly used in Djonga to mean *sin*. It also designates the offensive substance which a child or careless person may have left on the path, instead of observing the sanitary regulations of Native villages. (I. p. 311.) But in addition to biha we have *dyoha* (Dj.), *doha* (Ro.), to commit a wrong, *hona* (Ro.), *onha* (Dj.), which means to spoil, but also to sin, and from which comes *shihono*, the true word for sin in Ronga. *Somboloka* means to be irremediably bad, crooked, like a stem which cannot be straightened.

On the contrary the adjective *nene*, corresponding to biha, contains three meanings: good, nice, and true, the derivate *bunene* designating rather goodness and beauty, and another derivative, *psinene*, truth; the verb used for to be good is *shonga* (Ro), or *saseka* (Dj.), and has both the moral and esthetic significance. *Ku lulama* is to be straight, like a stem, and the use of this word indicates a deep and clear sense of right doing. Many other expressions might be quoted, showing that the notion of moral good and evil is certainly present in the Native mind, quite independently of that of taboo. They also recognise the *conscience* (timpfalu), seated in the diaphragm (p. 361).

2) *Intercourse with Natives* proves the same thing. Though their ideas may differ from ours as regards what is good (1), they are undoubtedly moral beings, with a more or lees developed conscience.

3) Their *folklore* is the best and most objective proof that this is so. Vice is punished and virtue rewarded in all the tales which I have called *moral*, and they certainly contain a whole code of natural and elementary morality (p. 222). The pangs of conscience in a criminal are depicted in a wonderful fashion in Zili, for instance.

However, it must be confessed that this morality is low, that it does not possess a very strong hold on the Native soul, and that the imperative of conscience is by no means the categorical

(1) The idea of charity is particularly low: charity is due only to relatives, or to clansmen, and not to foreigners. I remember a man of the Manyisa clan who nearly died near the lake of Pikatla, having been hurt when working on the railway; nobody took pity on him, because he belonged to another clan. He was saved by a converted woman, Lois, who had a wonderful understanding of the new principles of universal brotherhood.